5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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V. THE INDIVIDUAL

According to Pawnee standards, a successful life depended not only on the inheritance of an elevated social position, but also on individual initiative. From the beginning, a man looked upon his life's career as a contest whose outcome depended upon his own efforts. Success was a matter of industry, of honesty in dealing with other members of his society, of zeal in the hunt and upon the warpath, and of maintaining satisfactory relations with the deities. He had to work and fight constantly in this life for whatever he obtained.

Likewise, a woman must keep her lodge clean, and be honest, industrious in the fields, successful in the rearing of a family, and careful to observe the restrictions imposed on her conduct. In return for this, her days would be comfortable, the birth of her children would be without pain, and a definite place would await her in the life after death.

Periods of Life

The Skidi recognized five distinct periods or epochs in the life history of an individual of either sex. For the male these periods were as follows: (1) *Pirau.* This means "child," or more properly, "baby," carried no distinction of sex, and was applicable only to a child during the nursing period. (2) *Piruski,* "boy." This term covered the period from the termination of childhood to the age of puberty. The word *pisiks,* "covered up" (closed-foreskin), was also used as a nickname for a boy of this period, referring to the fact that he had not yet had connection with women. (3) *Pitisutki.* This term was applied to a boy after he had reached the age of puberty but had not yet married, and means "grown or straight up." (4) *Pita.* This referred to the period after marriage until old age, and is the general term for "man." (5) *Kurahus,* meaning "old man," was applicable to that period of a man's life when he no longer took active part in the hunt or went out with the warriors.

The corresponding names for the female were: (1) *Pirau.* (2) *Tcoraki,* "girl." (3) *Tcoras.* This corresponded to the third period of the man; that is, the period after reaching puberty and extending up to marriage. (4) *Tcapat,* "woman" (blood-from-delivery), especially referred to the fact that she had given birth. (5) *Tcostit* applied to all women after the menopause.

571 521 [551] and facetious. Displays of wit were quite common with both sexes, and often descended to mere *double entendre*. . . . Still the grotesque grouping and application of ideas was often quite entertaining: A nickname for a tall, slender person, *asu-katu-has-tawiu* ("shoe-shadow-string," shadow of a shoe string), or *karastiat* ("I will not go out"); *kusatsua* ("it will rain"). In reply, *A* ("well"), *uksawatsatsua* ("even if it were to rain"), *kaiit* ("salt"); *karas* ("are you?").

857 858 867 The boy had a more complicated social life in the community and types of friendship were likely to be more varied and more numerous than a girl's. The parents supervised the associations of the little boys in early childhood. The parents in prominent families did not allow their boys to play with children who had no mother or father to imbue them with right ideas, or whose parents were too ill-informed to do so. It was said of a poor boy who had no supervision that he played around the trash pile. Children that moved to a different part of the village seldom retained their former friends. In these early years, children were not [601] very well versed in the use of kin terms, and if they were in a small group they would either use some kin terms for one another or no term [551] of address at all. If the group included ten, twelve or more, they would use the simple names of childhood—Tiny, Little Eyes, Blacky, Whitey, etc.

883 572 From the ages of twelve to fifteen, the boys began to take the horses out to pasture and linger for some hours on the banks of the stream. Here more lasting friendships developed. When they reached the age of nineteen or twenty they began to do voluntary scout duty, watching for the [726] enemy from the heights around the village and looking around the countryside for evidences of an attacking enemy. Then came war expeditions into enemy country and finally admission to one of the various Doctor Cults and in some cases, to the chiefs' council. In each of these contexts, special friendships developed or were cemented from previous occasions.

533 [726] Sometimes a man would awaken in the night and start to sing, and the song would be taken up from house to house for a good part of the night. Scouts keeping watch would make a practice of singing through the night to let the enemy know that they were awake and watching. Some of these songs were religious, some from stories. One of these songs that was popular concerned the friendship of two young men. We do not know the story context from which it came, but the song itself concerns the thoughts of a young woman who noticed that there were two young men who went around everywhere together, traveling, hunting, and going on the warpath, and she wondered, "Will they always be true to each other? Will their friendship endure?" The following (Dunbar, [539] 1881, p. 747) is the text (the first line being repeated six times):